“This dapper hotty is working that tweed look”: Extending Workplace Affects on TubeCrush

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Introduction

*"If *a generic lager brand* made hot commuters….*

…we'd probably buy loads more of that generic lager brand." (27th April 2011)

TubeCrush is a London-based online multi-platform and user-generated social media company. The purpose of TubeCrush is to allow users to take unsolicited images of attractive men on the London Underground, and share these images with the TubeCrush community: "The premise is simple: 'See, Snap, Share'". Each image is accompanied with a short caption, which often plays on sexual innuendo. TubeCrush users can then rate and comment on other's crushes: "Our fanbase browse our many photographs, add comments, rate other crushes and share with their friends – think of it as an underground admiration".

TubeCrush presents itself as tongue-in-cheek, providing a pleasurable and unthreatening celebration of attractive men. The company has responded to accusations concerning privacy, reverse sexism and male objectification through arguments about gender inequality and women's risk of harassment in public places, speaking to the press and addressing these issues on their own website (see Evans & Riley, 2017, for a fuller discussion of these arguments). However, the light-hearted tone and playful irony of TubeCrush also distances it from more political concerns and the radical potential of straight women and gay men taking unsolicited images of men. TubeCrush instead extinguishes accusations of sexism and objectification by suggesting its role is to flatter and admire as part of everyday and natural occurrences: "These people bring us smiles, make us realise we all have different types and highlight that as humans we are attracted to people of the opposite/same sex".

In this chapter, we consider how TubeCrush produces its online distribution of images of attractive men through lens of workplace affects and intimate publics. According to Berlant (2008), an intimate public appears when a market speaks on behalf of a collective of consumers. The intimate

public creates a sense of identification, belonging and community for those consumers, producing 'insider knowledge', erasing difference and connecting people to a common cause or sentiment. While the intimate public is marked by ambivalence[i], identification with the intimate public orients the consumer towards normative intimacies and traditional gender roles. Thus, TubeCrush appears radical in allowing straight women and gay men to make desires visible. It makes attraction public (online) in public spaces, where strangers provide intimacy, fantasy and desire (Berlant & Warner, 1998). But this 'empowerment' and its associated nonstandard intimacy work to re-establish normative good life narratives and masculine ideals. In this chapter, we demonstrate this through TubeCrush's representation of fantasies of romance and the masculine capital of the men that are deemed desirable.

Elsewhere, we have explored TubeCrush as an example of new gender relations in the intimate public (Evans & Riley, 2017). In this chapter, we pay attention to another facet of TubeCrush's capacity to demonstrate the intimate public. The emotional demands of contemporary workplaces, which Gregg (2010) has termed 'workplace affects', have emerged as an important component of workers' labour in urban post-Fordist economies. What we see as new in TubeCrush is the extension of these workplace affects, emerging from TubeCrush's London-centric, location-based, liminal space of the daily commute. We begin with a discussion of workplace affects, linking these to the intimate public, before providing our analysis of TubeCrush.

Workplace Affects

British urban workplaces have undergone significant shifts in the last hundred years. This includes shifts from industrial labour to the office and service sector, and more recently to the 'factory without walls', where labour is dispersed across the public/private divide, including the family and community, and located within the 'knowledge industries' (Gill & Pratt, 2008). Shaped by forms of colonialism and the free market, Fordist industrial modes of production moved from countries in the global north and west, to geographical regions where cheaper land and labour enabled larger profits. Meanwhile, countries like the UK that were dominated by factory and industrial labour developed new economies driven by immaterial labour, which heighten the "role played by knowledge, information, communication, and affect" (Hardt, 1999, p.91).

Moves towards post-Fordist labour have also shaped subjectivities, in ways that we read as neoliberal and entrepreneurial. The ideal worker-citizen is risk managing, autonomous, responsible and self-made (Duffy & Pruchniewska, 2017): flexible and adaptable enough to exist in a landscape where work "is not a possession, nor does it have a fixed content, but becomes instead a constantly changing network" (Sennett, 2006, p.140). Arguably, the invention of an application like TubeCrush is itself demonstrable of its creator's own entrepreneurial capital, harnessing the digital economies and emerging class of new media 'cybertariats' (Dyer-Witheford, 2015).

The shaping of worklife through post-Fordist employment alongside the neoliberal self-as-project has in turn shaped the gendered geopolitics cityscapes like London. Through gender essentialist arguments, women have become the ideal subjects of new forms of employment (Adkins, 2016; Duffy, 2016; McRobbie, 2016). Women's supposed talkativeness, friendliness, other-oriented caring practices, or the benefits of flexibility for women with other caring responsibilities in the home (Gregg, 2008), have been harnessed to a burgeoning service sector. Intersecting with feminist demands for employment, equal pay and life beyond domesticity, the expectation for women's employment created colossal shifts in the labour force in many countries, even while associations with caring and service sector work means that 'top jobs' (e.g. business, finance, politics) remain male-dominated (Lynch, 2007). Similarly, assumptions about gay men's effeminacy, coupled with the gay rights movement and demands for equality, has seen gay men associated with professions like fashion, hairdressing and retail (e.g. Cole, 2000; Robinson, Hall & Hockey, 2011). As London's economy has gradually shifted to consumer-oriented forms of leisure, this has heightened the visibility of both women and gay men in public spaces.

However, service and creative sector jobs are frequently poorly paid, precarious and premised on emotional labour (Gill, forthcoming). Typically, 'emotional labour' has meant performing the emotional demands of face-to-face service sector work, such that one must avoid recognizing one's own emotions and instead produce a positive emotion in the customer (Hochschild, 2012). Negishi (2012), for example, demonstrates this through the 'smile scan' for workers of Japanese railway company Keikyu, where customer facing company employees clock-in by checking their smile on a platform that rates them 1-100, and provides tips and bodily instructions for how to improve their smile.

Another body of work has documented the emotional pressures of a 'love what you do' ethic or 'passionate work' (e.g. Duffy, 2016; McRobbie, 2016), where emotional investment in the labours of work extends into all areas of life. Below, we develop our framing of this context by drawing on Gregg's account of 'workplace affects', before linking it to TubeCrush.

Gregg's (2010) account of workplace affects suggests that with the precarity, monotony, alienation and boredom of contemporary workplace practices, communication technologies like email, social media and chat tools have become the new sociality of the workplace. Corporate attempts at enforcing collegiality "do not fully mask a culture of long working hours that often prevents workers from establishing more traditional friendship and community networks beyond the compulsory sociality of the office" (Gregg, 2010, p.253). Instead, online culture better caters to the alienation of modern workplaces than the social interaction that might occur with the person at the adjoining desk or 'workstation' (Gregg, 2010).

Gregg's (2010) examples of the changing dynamics of workplace affects include HBO's Six Feet Under, where funeral director's daughter, Claire, makes the shift from creative arts student to office temp. Claire is presented as cynical, bored and exasperated with her colleague's more serious take on workplace routine. Gregg (2010) suggests that Claire's emotional reaction to office work, which cumulates in a drunken verbal standoff with her colleagues, reflects a broader experience of the contemporary workplace. Her emotional outburst is reminiscent of workplace 'breakdowns' that have become increasingly visible on social media platforms like YouTube[ii]

Gregg (2010) draws comparison between Six Feet Under's workplace narrative and website Passive Aggressive Notes to demonstrate a new workplace sociality. Passive Aggressive Notes is a website where people submit evidence of others leaving notes in various locations, often where people have to share space such as houses, street lampposts and offices. Allusions to workplace cultures are evident in the website's aesthetic, using objects like the post-it note and pinboard to allied itself to office work (Gregg, 2010). Gregg (2010) suggests that the focus on grammar, such as comments on the over-use of quotation or exclamation marks in the passive-aggressive notes, act as markers of the tastes and standards of contributing users, and the pleasures of detecting the failings of others. Identifying a note where a pregnant woman requests that an unknown colleague stops eating her lunch from a shared

office fridge, Gregg (2010) suggests that the value in Passive Aggressive Notes is not humility or solidarity, but forms of middle class 'snark'. Posts and comments mark out the contributor as superior, "distinguish[ing] their own professionalism, competence, and ''cool'' from the amateurism, irrationality, and petty obsessions of co-workers" (p.256).

We see parallels between Gregg's (2010) analysis of Passive Aggressive Notes and TubeCrush. First, there is the transience in Passive Aggressive Notes that's signalled by poster's and note writer's lack of knowledge of each other's lives (Gregg, 2010). In the precarious workforce people work in close proximity to people they never interact with, or do so for short periods of time before colleagues move on to other jobs or roles (Gregg, 2010). Fluid workplaces engineer the need for notes to share communication with other unknowns who use communal spaces. So too with TubeCrush, the fleeting moment of close proximity is paramount to the site's reason d'etre, as people share the small, confined space of the Tube to get to and from work[iii]. Second, both online communities provide a sense of commonality and shared understanding. TubeCrush's humour is not the same 'snark' as Passive Aggressive Notes, providing only positive appraisals. However, like Passive Aggressive Notes, word play, camp and allusion suggest a knowingness and insider-ness that maintains a sense of commonality in an otherwise ephemeral (digital and non-digital) culture.

Yet what differentiates these two sites from each other is location. While Passive Aggressive Notes is located in the sociality of shared workspaces, TubeCrush happens in mobility. Thus, TubeCrush's expression of workplace affect happens before and after the working day. In this, we locate TubeCrush as extending workplace affects outside the office, and into the public spaces of London's busy underground system, which carries many of its workers.

In the context of these extended workplace affects, we could also argue that TubeCrush's "aesthetic worlds… are juxtapolitical, flourishing in proximity to the political" (Berlant, 2008, p.3). By this we mean that TubeCrush provides a space to escape from the nastiness of workplace snark, long working hours, precarious labour and expensive cities, where perceived and material differences between success and failure have never been greater. Below we turn directly to TubeCrush's content, reading workplace affects alongside Berlant's (2008) intimate publics. We show how the sentimentality of TubeCrush (through love, desire, sex) both produces and elides its potentially radical politics. As an

intimate public, TubeCrush continually reconfirms heteronormativity by directing desire in particular directions, binding normative heterosexuality to the post-Fordist economy of London's busy commute.

Workplace Affects as Intimate Publics

Our engagement with TubeCrush is part of a larger project that includes Tube-based interviews with TubeCrush users and close readings of the TubeCrush website (British Academy Small Grant, SG162199). In this chapter we pay attention to the online data. This data collection emerged organically and intermittently over three years (since 2014 at least, see Evans, 2014). Our engagement with the site has been a conceptual one, and while there was no rigid research design prior to funding, we believe that this extended engagement with a website (whose materials only go back as far as 2011) has provided an in-depth, firm understanding of the patterns and content of TubeCrush.

We engaged with this data through an assemblage of concepts, including postfeminist masculinity, sexism, urban mobility, the blurring of the public/private divide, consent, and workplace intimacies. These concepts are read alongside an analysis primarily structured by Berlant's (2008) intimate publics. Intimate publics are spaces "operat[ing] when a market opens up to a bloc of consumers, claiming to circulate texts and things that express those people's particular core interests" (Berlant, 2008, p.5). For Berlant (2008), the intimate public is saturated in sentimentality, such as feelings of love, romance and happiness, but the community's attachment to the intimate public is ambivalent. For example, Berlant (2008) analyses how women's cultures are full of 'complaint' and disappointment, but this complaint does not mobilise critical change. Instead, the intimate public also presents normativity as a means to 'the good life'. Good life narratives (e.g. the happy family, the successful career) reorient the 'bloc of consumers' towards conventionality, such that, for example, the disappointments of any chick-lit heroine's experiences only reinforce her determination to find 'Mr Right'.

Below, we suggests that the extended workplace affects of TubeCrush are a part of the intimate public that takes into account the economies of post-Fordist workplaces. We first map a dominant affective tone of romantic sentiment, which we suggest reflects the precarity of contemporary moment, both in work-life and the normativity of 'finding the one' (Berlant, 2011). Second, we show how sex

and romantic sentiment shapes TubeCrush's language use in relation to a celebration of financial masculinities. Finally we show how the sculpted, muscular body is desired as a further extension of the labour of the metropolitan city, bringing together work-life, the commute and body-work.

Love on the Move

Fantasies of romantic love and the forever-after are regular features on TubeCrush. While love and romance have a long association with capitalism, it's widely assumed that the two are incompatible. However, the language of TubeCrush reflects the ways capitalist societies have in fact produced a 'proliferation' of emotion or what Illouz (2007) terms 'emotional capitalism'. In its contribution to capitalism's romantic repertories, TubeCrush reproduces sentimentality full of nods to pre-feminist, fairytale and idealised imaginary worlds, but often with a modern twist and playfulness. For example:

> "This cute suited chap looks very handsome in his purple tie. With some sexy scruff and cheeky grin he could easily be our Prince." (Purple Rain, 23rd February 2017)

Above, there are indications of the workplace context through reference to clothing. The word play on the name of the performer Prince is used to associate the purple tie of the man in the image with the song Purple Rain, while 'be our Prince' draws on romantic constructs of (heteronormative) fairytale princes and princesses. Thus, we read nostalgia in TubeCrush, associated with gender relations that were more traditional and hierarchical (and themselves located in fantasy), even while reference to the singer Prince represents something more contemporary[iv].

In Berlant's (2008) discussion of the intimate public, she suggests nostalgia demonstrates desire for simpler, more conventional times. Nostalgia for 'princely' figures and fairytale motifs are also representative of a postfeminist retraditionalisation, for example where the feminist problematizations of practices like domesticity, cooking and marriage become objects worthy of celebration (e.g. Hollows, 2003; Broekhuizen & Evans, 2016). Women's chick-lit too provides spaces to (re)imagine fantasies of love and romance, where workplace boredom is common among heroines and "the love of a good man" provides the necessary confidence to achieving career success (Gill & Herdieckerhoff, 2006, p.495).

The affective tone of romance also emerges in TubeCrush through longer-term fantasies of dating and marriage:

> "Not distracted by that ladies pins next to him this sexy man is everything you want on a Wednesday. Sharp suit – tick, Crisp white shirt – tick, nice watch to make sure to never be late for the endless dates we are going to go on – tick tick tick (tock)!!" (Dreamy Blue Suit, 19th August 2016)

Dreamy Blue Suit is noteworthy as it represents a black man as a 'crush'. Black and non-white men rarely appear on TubeCrush. When they do the captions are often raced and classed. In this example, we suggest that the lack of comment on this man's race is related to his show of wealth, symbolized through his suit and watch. The affective qualities of this extract demonstrate a fantasy of a more permanent romantic engagement. Equally the mention of self-control (and assumed heterosexuality) in not being distracted by another woman's legs implies a level of commitment to this imagined relationship. Elsewhere, other men are defined both in terms of bodily aesthetics and fantasies of future commitments: "This sexy guy is two thirds beefcake and one third potential husband material." (Fraction of a Distraction, 18th November 2015).

Fantasies of romance and more enduring relationships are also represented by the company themselves, having recently joined the market of online dating with their sister site tubecrushdating.co.uk. In Illouz's (2007) analysis of emotional capitalism, she defines online dating as a phenomenon where self and others are "literally organized within the structure of the market" (p.79). Historically, discourses of love and romance were about a scarcity, making love 'special'. In digital contexts, notions of scarcity are replaced by abundance. In TubeCrush we witness such abundance in the website's extensive collection of attractive men. For Illouz (2007) this abundance means that love and romance has turned the lover into a commodity item, competing precariously with others in the hope of finding love.

Yet paradoxically, even while TubeCrush is located in the transient space of the Tube, it communicates a longing for something more enduring. And while the extracts discussed above do not mention the workplace explicitly, the affective tonality of TubeCrush is located in a wealth of other

material that does – which we turn to below.

In the Business

One recognisable similarity between two of the extracts discussed above is the mention of 'suits'. TubeCrush is London-centric, permitting only those images taken on the London Underground, located at the centre of the UKs busiest and largest urban spaces. London is understood as being at the centre of finance in Europe, if not globally, with its current first place position in The Global Financial Centres Index (2016), ahead of New York, Singapore, Hong Kong and Tokyo. The Tube thus functions as a means of transport for the urban cosmopolitan worker, many of whom may work in finance. For example:

> "Liverpool Street in the city is famous for being in the middle of the financial and banking business, so we thought what better commuter station to apply an 'In Vest' policy. All bankers should travel to work in vests with their muscles out and shades on. This sexy guy got the memo – well done hot stuff!" (In Vest Ment, 17th July 2013)

In Vest Ment uses the language of the economy for word play and humour. The centrality of the financial sector to London's economy means that the men identified as objects of desire are often associated with this industry, either through location (e.g. Liverpool Street) or through clothing (suits, expensive watches) and reading material (especially The Financial Times).

In Gill's (2009) analysis of the language of women's magazine Glamour, she notes a 'mediated intimacy', where sex and relationships are spoken about as a transaction or investment. For example, one magazine article proposes that finding a man means treating dating like a job interview, and suggests that: "If you want to meet someone, you have to think of yourself as a product that needs to be marketed" (p.352). Likewise, TubeCrush's incorporation of financial language means that TubeCrush becomes ingrained with the logic of 'business speak': "This sexy guy got the memo".

In the intimate public, such a take up and celebration of economic language to apprise masculinity is set against a wider political context where the construct of the 'city banker' has come

under fire for his complicity in the 2008 banking crisis, subsequent recession, and, in 2012, a 'double-dip' recession that resulted in an 'era of austerity' in the UK. Men in banking have long been recognised as symbolizing status and power (McDowell, 1997). However, during the recession, these same masculinities became the objects of protest (e.g. Occupy Wall Street). Many were shown in news broadcasts clearing their desks due to job losses; the public questioned why large 'bonus' culture remained intact when public money had been used to bail out the banks (McDowell, 2010). At the same time, the Fawcett Society published Sexism in the City (2008) and Corporate Sexism (2009), highlighting the sexual discrimination of women in banking and financial industries and critiquing the normalisation of lap dancing clubs as spaces to entertain and conduct business deals.

Against this context, TubeCrush's the tongue-in-cheek repertories mean that appreciation and compliment take precedence. For example:

> "In the tiniest glimpse we can see this guy is on top of the financial happenings by reading 'The Financial Times'. We know that times are tough and the markets are unstable but if this handsome guy is up for it we wouldn't mind double dipping him." (The big dipper, 28th November, 2011)

As noted above, The Financial Times is mentioned regularly as the reading material of commuters who end up on TubeCrush, insinuating associations with the finance industries. In the extract above, economic language again becomes sexual innuendo, this time for oral sex. On the one hand, what we have here is a definite sexing of public space (Berlant & Warner, 1998), with all the hints that this "double dipping" would happen on the tube. We also read in this extract camp playfulness with the criticisms of financial masculinities, where "times are tough and the markets are unstable". Understood in this way, such captions demonstrate a resigned knowingness and ambivalence in their tongue-in-cheek humour. And yet, here the move is still to provide pleasure to the man representing financial masculinity, shoring up the dominant and hegemonic masculinity of the city worker.

Other forms of work do appear throughout TubeCrush posts, for example in captions about fashion and manual labour: "This dapper hotty is working that tweed look on his commute home from work. We would bet our bottom dollar he's in fashion." (Dapper Dreads, 3rd June 2015); "They say a

woman's work is never done but this hot guy has been working non stop! Look at his painters trousers – they've done some hours. We only hope he is as dirty in bed!!" (Workman's Knees, 2nd February 2016). However, also evident in these two extracts is the raced and classed locations of these captions alongside their implied workplaces. Like Dreamy Blue Suit above, both of these captions are used to describe TubeCrush's underrepresented non-white masculinities. The relative absence of non-white masculinities is even more pronounced given the London-based location of these images, where a multicultural population might produce more diversity.

In distinction to Dreamy Blue Suit, however, the title 'Dapper Dreads' marks out the man in the image by his racial features. While Workman's Knees is complex in its discussion of manual labour: first, by conflating manual labour with "woman's work", usually a phrase associated with (undervalued) domestic housework; and second, through the insinuation of 'dirty' sex.

Non-white men (and women) have historically been associated with a hypersexual dangerous sexuality (hooks, 2004; Mercer, 1994). Equally, overtones of 'dirty' sex suggest an eroticisation of working class masculinities, evident in both straight women's culture (an older example being Lady Chatterley's Lover) and gay men's culture (such as in 'chav' themed club nights, see Johnson, 2008 for a full discussion). This interpretation is further supported in other entries on TubeCrush, for example: "Judging by the paint on this pair of likely lads trakkies they could be pretty good with their hands. We are offering a 2-4-1 combo – when you pay for the front you get your back done free!" (Need any work done? 22nd January 2015). Here, two white men are considered 'likely lads': a phrase more affectionate than 'chav', but with similar associations. Like financial masculinities, a market language is put to effect. However, here this market is signified through the business speak of discount stores – "2-4-1 combo" – and reiterated notions of 'dirty' sex through reference to paid for and anal sex, firmly locating this caption with constructs of class.

A Body of Work

> Early morning gym run by chance? It must be given this sexy guy has a suit carrier by his side. Forget the gym matey just pop over to our house for a workout! (Suit by his side, 13th July 2016)

Alongside TubeCrush's hailing of financial masculinities, another labour seen in TubeCrush is work on the self – and as evident above, suits and gym-based masculinities are not mutually exclusive. In the emotional economy, the body becomes a site on which work is performed. Like the smile in service sector work, for example, McDowell's (1997) research on city bankers shows how having the characteristics of strength, power and success were also read through body performance. More recent discussions of the post-Fordist workplace also highlight forms of aesthetic entrepreneurship that shape new forms of work and labour (e.g. Elias, Gill & Scharff, 2017). In TubeCrush, this is evident in how the 'buff' and 'fit' body is discussed. TubeCrush applauds those who visibly 'work out' and celebrates pecs, biceps and thighs as signifiers of physical and sexual strength: "That post workout commute where you've been working on your legs and you need to give em a bit of a rub. We'll do it for you sexy man!" (Thighs the Limit, 19th June 2016).

As Elias, Gill and Scharff (2017) suggest that there has been an expansion of beauty and body work as a *part of* work. We're "all living in the image factory" (p.38), which goes beyond the surface of the body project and requires transformation of the whole self, where outward appearance and subjective processes both require labour. Put simply, to look successful is to be successful, and vice versa. However, such success is offset by the difficulties of engaging in constant self-transformation, which requires both time and money (Evans & Riley, 2013). TubeCrush also addresses this challenge:

> Modern lifestyles are so manic that some people have don't have the time or the means to sculpt their guns in the swankiest gyms on Clapham High Street, so they're forced to bodypump on public transport. For those with a nervous disposition, we recommend that you do not take the District Line at 3pm on Tuesdays. Mr Motivator is running his pelvic floor exercise class. (Bodypump on a Budget, 11th November 2011)

As with the economic language of double dip recession laying the groundwork for sexual innuendo, Bodypump on a Budget recognises the pressures of contemporary urban life in both time and finances. However, in TubeCrush this recognition does not open up alternative discourses surrounding masculine strength or those masculinities that appear well sculpted, nor the social contexts that limit some people's

inability to engage in these practices.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we suggest the Tube offers an interesting space to explore new workplace contexts of the post-Fordist economy because of its location in the liminal space between work and home. TubeCrush is one example where we believe workplace affects are extended into this liminal space, demonstrating an intimate public through discourses that speak to a community through a shared, networked and digital sharing of images of attractive men on the Tube.

TubeCrush has emerged in a politicized labour context where people are expected to work harder, for more hours, and often in forms of precarious and underpaid employment. In large, busy, urban environments like London, youth unemployment is high and affordable housing is non-existent. Exponential shifts in gender relations have left a generation working through what these shifts mean for employment. Meanwhile, meaningful relationships in such large cities are harder to maintain outside of workplace environments, meaningful 'real' intimacy is understood as impossible (see Bollmer, this collection) and people have grown accustomed to more transient relationships in a city where people are likely to come and go. In this context, there is something refreshing in TubeCrush's affirmative language, in contrast to the snark of other spaces that bring workers together (Gregg, 2010). We understand TubeCrush as providing a sense of commonality, sociality and community, alleviating the alienation of the post-Fordist city (Berlant, 2008; Berlant & Warner, 1998).

We believe that analysing TubeCrush as workplace affects in the context of an intimate public strengthens our ability to make sense of "the ordinariness of suffering, the violence of normativity… [that] suspend questions about the cruelty of the now" (Berlant, 2011, p.28). In Berlant's (2008) notion of the intimate public, good life narratives (e.g. of love, happiness, career, family) are experienced ambivalently, but the intimate public draws us in by taking the politics out of the precarity. Likewise, in TubeCrush, the workplace affects of the post-Fordist economy are extended into the daily commute to provide a light-hearted tone to the pressures and disappointments of contemporary worklife. Potentially radical in its sexing of public space, the closeness of bodies and the potential relationships that could flourish there, TubeCrush reorients them towards normativity. The bodies that are celebrated

and the fantasies of relationships are fully conventional, drawing on older concepts of romance, wealth and strength, rather than looking to redefine these for a new gender order.

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[i] Berlant (2008) gives the example of the disappointments of love, and, despite these disappointments, the continued belief in and search for it.

[ii] See for example https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IzBy6agXKoA

[iii] Berlant and Warner (1998) define heteronormativity through its privacy, and here TubeCrush does seem to reverse this privacy, turning on the tube's public-but-intimate, intimate-but-anonymous axis to present its images of attractive men.

[iv] It's worth noting here that the man in the image does not, however, represent any of the gender fluidity that was associated with Prince.